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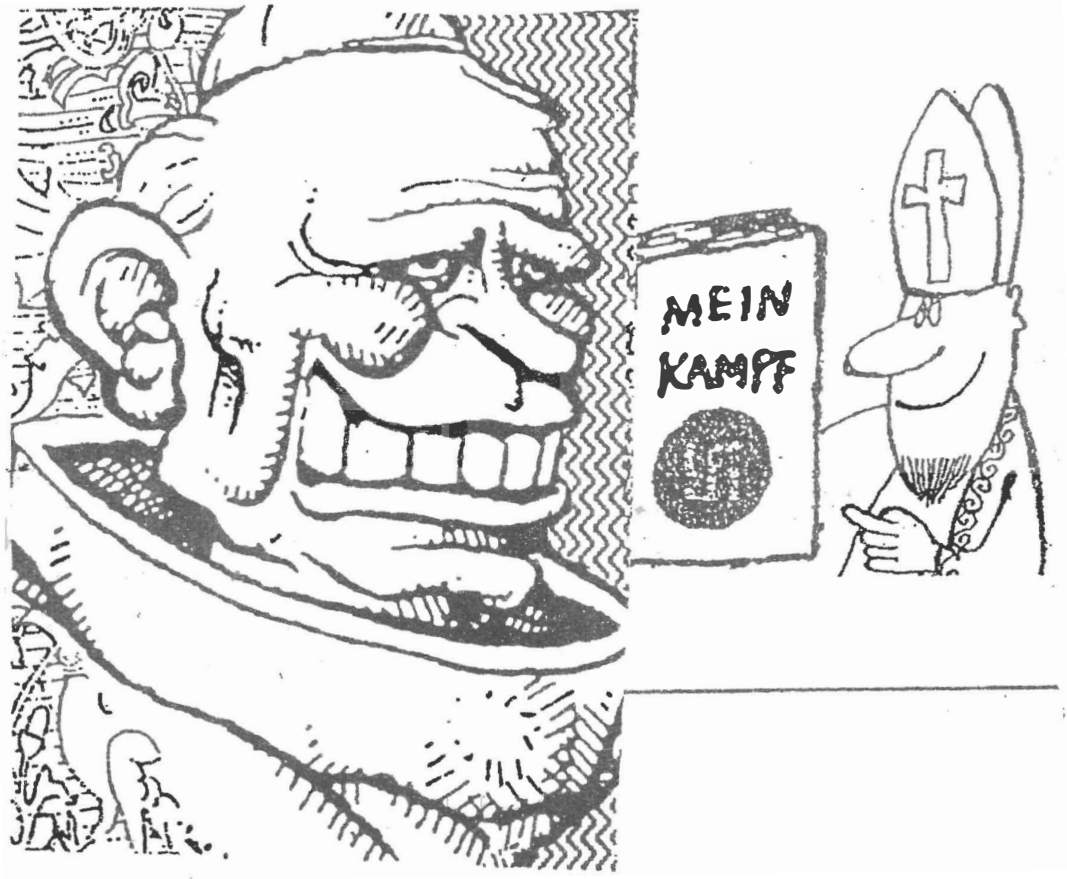

RED & BLACK

An Anarchist Journal

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RED & BLACK

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CAPITALISM - AN ALTERNATIVE?

The internationalization of capital and the nationalization of people: this is the ruthless reality. Capitalism, by blood, rape, guns, bombs and political subversion, under the aegis of the U.N., is asserting itself as a New Order. Blockades, threats and fears, military invasions, moral terrorism, the practice of atrocities and the entombing of whole populations are the methods of implanting the One Big Capitalist Union, centralized and hierarchically organized by the G7, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. To Financial Capital this is the correct ideology but, to sell it, they disguise it as a Free World strategy, where freedom is instrumental to enslavement, domination, exploitation and domestication of the human race.

In such a world scenario the State continues to play an important role. While the internationalization of capital is going on with the utmost rigour, so is the decomposition of Empires and Federated States. Small states are flourishing like mushrooms, claiming ethnicity as a virtue, nationalism as a distinctive characteristic. But this decomposition of States into ethnic states has its logic in the ideology of domination. Within this logic its function is to be the watch-dog of capitalism, to guarantee the flow of capital, to ensure investments and to make sure that they yield profit. To this purpose it controls, represses, oppresses, enforces, regiments. Inevitably, since profit implies poverty and poverty is an explosive powder, the centralization of international profit and the decentralization of pauperism supports capitalist stability. The State asserts the international value of the Capitalist utopia: liberty, freedom and happiness. Liberty to be dismissed, freedom to be enslaved and happiness to be miserable. In real terms such a utopia is hell for the majority and heaven for a tiny minority. As to the workers they are to be competitive: more production - less wages; more hours for the boss less remuneration. In the former Soviet Union this was referred to as Stakhanovtchina, in the "Free" World there is a choice: either starvation or voluntary serfdom.

The triumvirate, G7. I.M.F. and the W.B., are anxious to ensure the domestication of dissent, free market forces and "free" monopoly. If necessary brute force is used from time to time as a warning for those who try to escape such a predic-

ament. After all capitalist democracy means domination of exploitative appetites. The more people are reduced to nothingness, to commodities, the more they are effaced and brutalized, the better they are trained to carry their chains. The multinationals enlist the services of professional economists to depict the beauty of capitalist reality and utopia, its inevitability, its charitable attitude in conquest and its humanity in enslavement. The failure of state communism is shown as the final proof of capitalist necessity. But for capitalism to be robust and healthy, it needs subdued people, subdued wages and captive markets.

It is up to the workers to understand that. Their ignorance is the cause of their own degradation, their own downfall and their own poverty. For the New Order to benifit they have to make two important steps: voluntary impoverishment and pie in the sky. Within the bourgeois reality there are no other choices. Backward, but necessary steps, they are told, if they are to harvest future benefits while the capitalists accumulate the present capital. The workers have always lived with the bourgeois productive ethic and whilst they were strong they were compensated some what, now that they are weak they are given no choices. They reap what they have sown because they never transcended bourgeois relationships. They delegated power to their representatives who now are excellent capitalist administrators. These administrators are trying to equalize wages on an international level accepting the lower denominator, and trying to incease productivity to solve the "economic crisis". But the crisis is not about productivity but about concentration of capital at a world level.

When the W.B. proposes a policy of liberalisation it means the opening of domestic markets to the international financial invasion that enriches companies and makes the workers expendable commodities. A hierarchical operation: at the top are those who reap the benefits while at the bottom are the slaves, and in between the various categories of parasites who ensure smooth exploitation. Cohabitation is a long established practice but formerly economic growth was seen as enhancing the enrichment of the nation, now the value of growth is per se. The first attempt was to downsize the working force without touching wages. Once this was accepted, the second stage entered into play: internationalization of production to cut cost, reduce wages and maximize profit. Reference to "the crisis" is a psychological weapon to convince the workers that unemployment, redundancy etc. are necessary if the factory is to be run on profitable lines. They must take less wages, more hours, less pay and no penalities! The unions also corroborate the capitalist rationalization and are instrumental in the internalization of bourgeois values.

The little wars that the U.S.A., the long arm of the transnationals, and its cohorts are engaged in from time to time are not to liberate humanity but to "liberalize" its exploitation. Multi-national made misery is "humanized" by military intervention: praxis of subjugation. Nonetheless, for such actions to have a moral face they have the seal of approval of the U.N., a rubber stamp for international capitalism and servant of the U.S.A. hegemony policy. Atrocities are pretexts for military occupation and annexation of countries to the New Order Orbit: Irak, Somalia, Yugoslavia, Rwanda etc.

Sadam Hussein was declared an evil when he refused to cooperate with the Big Brother whose servant he was for a long time. Entire populations were entombed but the evil given space to breathe again. Quwait was liberated, ruling oligarchy restored, people again enslaved and privileges and petrodollars guaranteed. The Kurds were given some respite but their genocide in Turkey continues. Somalia: humanitarian mission for oil interests. And now Rwanda. When Habyarimana and his death squads were spreading terror by killing his Hutu's political opposition and committing genocide against the minority Tutsi there was a general silence. But these atrocities were financed and the killers armed and trained by the civilized French capitalism. Once the carnage reached its apogee colonialism was not mentioned, tribalism was blamed and imperialism exonerated. Its cause in this conflict was not stated. Nonetheless, in the middle of the carnage in Kigali, the dictator's family was whisked off to safety. An old practice acquiring new dimensions. Bribe the top brass, allow them to fleece the treasures, whisk them off to safety then invade, occupy, restore law and democratize order that suits muscular individualism - American style.

Violence that leads to holocausts is neither primitive nor tribal but a product of civilized capitalism and its auxiliaries: colonialism and imperialism. It is scientifically crystalized racialism: pure - impure; superior - inferior; civilized - savage. It is followed by septic actions: cleanse, eliminate, destroy. Then comes the mission of civilizing: convert, conquer, subdue and introduce capitalist ethos, divide, enslave, exploit, accumulate, incorporate, intern and displace. And then follows: dividends, successful exploits, wealth accumulation, emporiums, corporations, internationalization and displacement of capital. The outcome: economic, socio-political and ecological cataclysms are matters of fact, scientific disciplines where thousands of researchers are employed to rationalize capitalist exploitation, vandalism and rape. On top of it, violence is sanitized, genocide is humanized, bombs and bullets are intellectualized, surgical operations are applied, and finally capitalist superiorty-complex is confirmed. Its economic viability is asserted and, last but not least, its immaculate conception is sanctified

as the only alternative doctrine to evil.

Capitalism is reenforcement of, not an alternative to, planetary exploitation, systematic enslavement, the integration of local economies into the world market, super exploitation of natural resources and the increase of unemployment and poverty. The Holy Divinity of the I.M.F., W.B. and G7 have formed a most Unholy Trinity.

Slaves of the State

By Paul Wright

Many people have the mistaken impression that slavery was outlawed or abolished in the United States after the civil war by the passage of the 13th amendment. Unfortunately, that was not the case. The 13th amendment reads: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, *except as punishment for crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted*, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." The effect of the 13th amendment was not to abolish slavery but to limit it to those who had been convicted of a crime.

The reality was made apparent in the aftermath of the civil war when large numbers of newly freed black slaves found themselves "duly convicted" of crimes and in state prisons where, once again, they labored without pay. Until within the last 20 years it was common practice for state prisons to "rent" prison labor out to private contractors in a modern form of chattel slavery. This situation led the Virginia Supreme Court to remark in an 1871 case, *Ruffin v. Commonwealth*, that prisoners were "slaves of the state." All that has changed since then is that the state is less honest about its slave holding practices.

Until the 1930's most state and federal prisons were largely self sufficient, producing most of the goods and food they consumed and even produced a surplus, for sale, of food and some industrial products. In many states prisoners even served as armed guards (until the mid 70's the state of Arkansas held some 3,000 prisoners with only 27 civilian employees) and many other functions which required minimal investment by the state. Prison self sufficiency and excess production for profit largely ended during the mid-30's when the US was in the midst of the depression and both unions and manufacturers complained about competing against prison made products on the open market. In most manufactured products the labor cost is the most expensive component. Cut the labor cost and the resulting profit margin increases. With a prison labor force working at no cost the state and federal prisons could easily compete against any private manufacturer and workers. One of the laws passed was the Ashhurst-Summers Act

which prohibited the transport in interstate commerce of prison made goods unless the prisoners were paid at least minimum wage.

Prison labor did not start to become a major issue again until the 1980's. Until then most prison produced goods were either for use within the prison system or sale to other state agencies, license plates being the most famous example. This began to change when the US's massive prison building and incarceration binge began to gather steam. In a 1986 study designed to reduce the cost to the government of its prison policies former Supreme Court Justice Warren Burger issued the call for transforming prisons into "factories with fences." In essence, prisons should once again become self sustaining, even profit producing, entities requiring minimal financial input from the state. The "factories with fences" proponents seek to turn the clock back to the times when prisoners were merely slaves of the state.

While some think that slavery, i.e. unpaid, forced labor, offers enormous profit potential for the slave owner there are historical reasons slavery is no longer the dominant mode of economic production. First, the slave owner has a capital investment in his slave, regardless of whether the slave is working or producing profit he must be fed, housed, etc. in minimal conditions to ensure the slave's value as a labor producer remains. With the rise of industrial capitalism in the 18th and 19th century capitalists discovered that capitalism has its boom and bust cycles characterized by over-production. Thus idle slaves would become a drain on the owner's finance because they would still require feeding, housing, etc., regardless of whether they were working. However, if the slave were "free" he could be employed at low wages and then laid off when not producing profit for the employer, the wage slave was free to starve, free to be homeless, etc. with no consequences for the owner.

Another reason slavery was inefficient compared to wage slavery was that the slaves would occasionally revolt destroying the means of production and killing the slave owner. More common and less dramatic were the acts of sabotage and destruction that made machinery, with its attendant capital investment, impractical for use by slaves. So by the middle of the 19th century wage slaves employing machines could out produce, at greater profit for the factory owner, chattel slaves using less easily damaged, more primitive machinery.

The problem slave owners of old faced was what to do with non-producing slaves. Today's slave owners, i.e. the state, faces the opposite problem of having idle slaves who must be fed, clothed and housed whether or not they produce anything of value. The current thinking goes that any potential profit produced by prison slaves is better than none.

Some of the proponents of prison slavery try to disguise it as a "rehabilitation" or "vocational" program designed to give prisoners job skills or a trade which can be used upon their release. This is not the case. First, almost without exception the jobs available in prison industries are labor intensive, menial, low skill jobs which tend to be performed by exploited workers in three places: third world dictatorships, by illegal immigrants in the US or by prisoners. Clothes and textile manufacturing is the biggest and most obvious example of this. Second, because the jobs don't exist in the first place the job skills acquired are hardly useful.

Does anyone expect a released prisoner to go to Guatemala or El Salvador to get a job sewing clothes for the US market at a dollar a day? Third, if it's rehabilitational then why not pay the prisoner at least minimum wage for his/her work? Fourth, it ignores the reality that the US has at least 8 or 9 million unemployed workers at any given time, many of them highly skilled, who cannot find jobs that pay a meaningful wage to support themselves. So called "job retraining" programs are a failure because all the training in the world won't create jobs with decent wages. In pursuit of higher profits, i.e. lower salaries, US and multinational corporations have transferred virtually all labor intensive production jobs to third world countries. If prisoners are going to be expoited as slave labor it should be called what its is.

The US has little problem condemning the export of prison made goods from China. What makes this rank hypocrisy is the fact that the same criticisms leveled by the US government against Chinese prison made goods can be leveled at US prison made goods. According to a March 18, 1994 story in the *Seattle Times* prison made goods from California and Oregon are being exported for retail sales. In a supreme irony, the California DOC is marketing its clothing lines in Asia, competing against the sweatshops of Indonesia, Hong Kong, Thailand and of course, the ubiquitous Chinese. The "Prison Blues" brand of clothes, made by prisoners in the Oregon DOC, has a projected sales of over $1.2 million in export revenues. US State department officials were quoted saying they wished prison made goods were not exported by state DOC's because it is being raised as an issue by other governments. Namely the Chinese, which have cited US practices in response to criticisms. For their part the Chinese have announced a ban on the export of prison made goods while the US is stepping up such exports.

The California prisoners making clothes for export are paid between 35 cents and $1 an hour. The Oregon prisoners are paid between $6 to $8 an hour but have to pay back up to 80% of that to cover the cost of their captivity. As they are employed by a DOC owned company this is essentially an accounting exercise where the prisoners' real wages are between $1.20 to $1.80 an hour. Still competitive with the wages paid to illegal immigrant sweatshop workers here in the US and wages paid to garment workers in the Far East and Central America.

Fred Nichols, the administrator of Unigroup, the Oregon DOC prison industries was quoted saying: "We want them to work in the same environment as on the outside" in terms of hiring interviews and such. Yet obviously this does not include the right to collective bargaining and union representation which are of course common to the labor process outside prisons and would teach important rehabilitational values such as collective dispute resolution, the principle of a fair wage for work, etc.

Companion articles to this one detail conditions in the federal prison system's Unicor, California state industries, etc. While the particulars may change the trend continues towards increased exploitation of prison slave labor. Some states, especially those in the South such as Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, etc., still have unpaid prisoners laboring in fields supervised by armed guards on horseback, with no pretense of "rehabilitation" or "job training." In those states the labor is mandatory, refusal to work brings harsh punishment and increases prison sentences served.

In 1977 the Supreme Court decided *Jones v. North Carolina Prisoners' Labor Union* which removed the notion that the courts will offer any protection for the idea of prisoner union organizing. In the past, *PLN* has reported on efforts and court cases to seek minimum wage for prison laborers. For the most part such efforts through the courts have been unsuccessful with courts bending over backwards to read exemptions (which are not written) into the federal Fair Labor and Standards Act (FLSA). Still, the litigation should continue to chip away on that front.

On the political front, we must expose prison slavery for what it is and at the same time seek collective bargaining for safe working conditions, fair pay, etc. It took workers in this country nearly 160 years to obtain this in 1934 and it has since been whittled away. So it will be neither easy nor quick. The problem that slave owners of old faced is still faced by modern slavers, namely resistance by the slaves. To the extent that private business run slave operations in prisons, there is the massive state subsidy that they receive and for state run enterprises there are the hidden costs. Under guise of "security" go the enormous expenses associated with guards, checkpoints, controls, etc., that are otherwise not present with wage slaves on the outside. The occasional mutiny by irate slaves with concomitant loss of production, capital investment in machinery, etc. is likely to occur and deter private ventures.

In Washington the state offers a lot of incentives for private businesses to employ prison slaves. Class I venture industries pay no rent, electricity, water or similar costs. They are exempt from state and federal workplace safety standards, pay no medical, unemployment or vacation/sick leave to slaves who have no right to collective organizing or bargaining. In a case like this we are seeing welfare capitalism where private business is getting a handout from the state at taxpayer expense. One which, I suspect, will largely swallow the profit paid back to the state under guise of taxes, room and board, etc. by the prisoner. To the extent that prison slaves are forced to pay state and federal taxes there arises the question, linked to the right to vote, of taxation without representation. If forced to pay taxes like any other citizen, under guise of rehabilitative or vocational employment, then why not the right to vote given other taxpayers?

Workers on the outside should also be aware of the consequences that prison slave labor has for their jobs. Ironically, as unemployment on the outside increases, crime and the concomitant incarceration rate increases. It may be that before too long people can only find menial labor intensive production jobs in prisons or third world countries where people labor under similar conditions. The factory with fences meets the prison without walls.

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THROUGH KROPOTKIN TO THE FOUNDATION OF RADCLIFFE-BROWN'S ANTHROPOLOGY

In a section of his memoirs headed "Studying sociological problems", Kropotkin recalled that during the 1870s he came to regard anarchism as "part of a philosophy, natural and social, which must be developed in a quite different way from the metaphysical or dialectic methods which have been employed in sciences dealing with man. I saw that it must be treated by the same methods as natural sciences; not, however, on the slippery ground of mere analogies such as Herbert Spencer accepts, but on the solid basis of induction applied to human institutions." (1)

Substitute anthropology for anarchism and this passage could have been written by Radcliffe-Brown, who also wanted to build an inductive natural science of society. 1899, the year in which Kropotkin's memoirs were published, was decisive for young Brown's future. Three decades later, in a letter to Bronislaw Malinowski, he would state that "I was a sociologist in 1899 before I went to Cambridge, when I was closely in touch with such men as Kropotkin, Havelock Ellis, etc. and I have never abandoned the aim I then had of devoting my life to the scientific study of culture." Towards the end of his life he was to recall in a letter to A. L. Kroeber that "Between leaving school and going to the University...the most important fact in my life was the friendship of Prince Peter Kropotkin, Russian aristocrat, scientist and anarchist...Kropotkin, revolutionary, but still a scientist, pointed out how important for any attempt to improve society was a scientific understanding of it, and the importance in this respect of a study of what our friend Ely Reclus had called 'Primitive Folk.' So I went to Cambridge intending to study human society.."(2)

In two earlier papers for Red & Black I argued that there were certain resemblances in attitude and value between Kropotkin and Radcliffe-Brown, and that a knowledge of Kropotkin's life and ideas makes it understandable that he should have advised young Brown as he did. But granted these affinities and influences, can the Russian's thinking about the nature of society be connected with the anthropology of his much younger English acquaintance?

Kropotkin's theory of society had been powerfully stimulated by the five years he spent in Siberia in the 1860s. His observations led him to distinguish two principles of

social life: "command and discipline" on the one hand; and "common understanding" on the other. The lesson was reinforced a few years later during his first visit to Western Europe, when he observed voluntary associations in the Jura Mountains. This experience of native tribesmen, Russian peasant colonists and Swiss watchmakers lay behind his later insistence on mutual aid as the leading factor in evolution. Of Kropotkin's many writings the one which makes the most use of anthropological evidence is Mutual Aid. Though the book did not appear until 1902, its chapters were based on articles published between 1890 and 1896 in The Nineteenth Century, a prominent journal of the time. Much later Kropotkin was to discuss similar material more briefly in his unfinished Ethics, posthumously published in 1924.

While agreeing that "Life is struggle; and in that struggle the fittest survive", Kropotkin maintained that the important question was "Who are the fittest to survive?"(3) The Social Darwinians were giving their answer in the spirit of Tennyson's "red in tooth and claw". In particular, a view of life as a gigantic gladiatorial show was propounded by Darwin's champion, the famous Thomas Henry Huxley; who wrote in 1888 that "Life was a continuous free fight, and beyond the limited and temporary relations of the family, the Hobbesian war of each against all was the normal state of existence." To Huxley's "each against all" Kropotkin opposed "each for all". He described it as the supreme rule in tribes, "so long as the separate family has not yet broken up the tribal unity."(4)

For Kropotkin sociability (which among humans is expressed in a mass of habits and customs) has pre-human origins. Contrary to Rousseau, "Society has not been created by man; it is anterior to man." Accordingly there is no need to postulate a social contract or a moral covenant or an inspired lawgiver in order to explain why we live in society or why we show solidarity (mutual aid and support) in many of our relationships.(5)

Kropotkin's firsthand experience of tribal peoples in Siberia, though passed over quickly in his memoirs, was evidently a factor in his understanding of anthropological literature: "to live with natives, to see at work all the complex forms of social organization which they have elaborated far away from the influence of any civilization, was, as it were, to store up floods of light which illuminated my subsequent reading."(6) In 1865, for example, Kropotkin succeeded in discovering a direct route from the Yakutsk gold mines to Transbaikalia, for which other expeditions had searched for years. He owed his success to a native map, which a Tungus had traced with a knife on a sheet of bark and to a native guide, a Yakut hunter, who could "read" the map. (7)

During his Siberian years Kropotkin travelled more than 50,000 miles, mainly on horseback. Except that the surroundings were far more beautiful, he might almost have been in outback Australia. "A book might be written about this part of my life."(8) What a pity it was not! One wonders whether Kropotkin ever talked about Siberia with Brown, who would soon be seeing the Australian outback for himself and learning at firsthand of "the complex forms of social organization" which the Aborigines had "elaborated far away from the influence of any civilization". But before he left for Western Australia in 1910 he was to do fieldwork in the completely different environment of the Andaman Islands between 1906 and 1908.

In his reading Kropotkin was particularly struck by "the complexity of the organization of marriage". One of the books on which he drew was that classic of Australian anthropology, Kamilaroi and Kurnai by Lorimer Fison and A. W. Howitt, first published in 1880. The existence of such complicated arrangements showed "how utterly false it is to represent primitive mankind as a disorderly agglomeration of individuals, who only obey their individual passions, and take advantage of their personal force and cunningness against all other representatives of the species." The fact that this organization had developed and been maintained "in societies knowing no kind of authority besides the authority of public opinion" was proof of "how deeply inrooted social instincts must have been in human nature..."(9)

Kropotkin was aware of the possible objection that he was showing animals and men in too favourable a light, stressing their social qualities to the neglect of "their anti-social and self-asserting instincts". But he felt his emphasis was unavoidable because so much had been written "of the harsh, pitiless struggle for life...that it was necessary to indicate the overwhelming importance which sociable habits play..."(10)

In fact, he did build the contrary evidence into his theory by suggesting that a "double conception of morality" was visible throughout human evolution. Mutual aid, the rule of each for all, did not extend beyond the clan or tribe. Each such group formed a separate entity (though several of them might federate). Relationships had accordingly to be envisaged under two aspects. On the one hand were relations within the group, on the other relations with persons outside it. In war, for example, "the most revolting cruelties may be considered as so many claims upon the admiration of the tribe."(11)

In Mutual Aid and also in Ethics, Kropotkin organized his material in an evolutionary schema which would not have

appealed to the later Radcliffe-Brown, though when he went to the Andaman Islands in 1906 it was with the intention of making a hypothetical reconstruction of the history of Negritoes, including the Andamanese.(12) Especially in the 1920s and later a gulf opened up between what we now think of as modern social anthropology, which Radcliffe-Brown himself was instrumental in founding, and the kind of anthropology with which Kropotkin was familiar. Nonetheless I think it can be argued that much of what the Englishman wrote would have interested Kropotkin or could even be seen as a working out of a Kropotkinian position. I shall try to show this by referring both to his account of the Andamanese and to his general conception of society.

Radcliffe-Brown describes the Andamanese in terms which not only make them sound attractive but which would have appealed to Kropotkin. To a large extent they fit the picture he had given of tribal society in Chapter III of Mutual Aid. Though a conclusive answer is probably too much to expect, we may wonder whether Radcliffe-Brown's description would have had the same tone had he never read Kropotkin.

We are told that the Andamanese live in local groups, each of which "was independent and autonomous, leading its own life and regulating its own affairs." There was "no organised government" and no "such thing as the punishment of crime." In the absence of "organised chieftainship" social life (in the sense of the affairs of the community) was "regulated entirely by the older men and women", but of authority they had "little or none"; what they had was influence. An important factor in the position of these men and women was the general respect for seniority. Another was the possession of such qualities as "skill in hunting and warfare, generosity and kindness, and freedom from bad temper." Land was owned by the group, but portable property by individuals. In spite of this presence of private property "the Andamanese have customs which result in an approach to communism. One of these is the custom of constantly exchanging presents with one another... It is considered a breach of good manners ever to refuse the request of another ...Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus constantly changing hands." Outside the group, however, relationships were rather different. Though amicable visits and gatherings occurred, there were also quarrels, feuds and warfare.(13)

The two main points on which the Andamanese diverge from Kropotkin's picture of tribal society are private property in portable things and separate families clearly discernible within the larger group. He saw these as belonging to a later phase of human evolution. But as land was held in common and food and objects were so freely shared, these

developments (as he would probably have characterized them) had not broken the unity of the local group. On the whole the Andamanese, as described by Radcliffe-Brown, would have confirmed Kropotkin in his belief that "each for all" was the prevailing rule in this kind of society. It is unfortunate that publication of The Andaman Islanders was delayed, especially by the Great War, until 1922. Kropotkin died in 1921, so he never had the chance to read the book of the young Englishman whom he had helped set on the path to anthropology. But even had the book appeared earlier Kropotkin might not have found the time to study it. The outbreak of war in 1914 caused a tremendous diversion of his energies, and in 1917 he returned to Russia to do what he could to further the revolution. As for Brown, war caught him in Australia, where he was marooned for the next few years.

For the mature Radcliffe-Brown social anthropology involved the description of "forms of social life", the aim being to discern "general features" in the midst of the "immense multitude of actions and interactions of human beings".(14) In the case of the Australian Aborigines, for example, he recognized "three principal types of relationship between persons or groups". There were relations of "simple solidarity", relations of "enmity and strife" and relations of what he called "opposition". It was Radcliffe-Brown's opinion that some of the "simpler societies" showed a virtual "absence of all conflict"---here he presumably had in mind relations within the group of people who shared a common territory.(15)

The condition of simple solidarity or absence of conflict would seem to correspond to Kropotkin's mutual aid, expressed in the rule of "each for all". The condition of enmity and strife would seem to correspond to Kropotkin's conception of relations with "outsiders", the persons who do not share membership of the tribe (or other relevant group). Radcliffe-Brown's distinction between two "principal types of relationship" can accordingly be correlated with Kropotkin's "double conception of morality". But what of the third principal type, the relationship of oppostion? To see how this might relate to Kropotkin's theory it is necessary to give further consideration to his treatment of solidarity.

Kropotkin thought that progress required the double conception of morality to be eradicated. But though "we have in some measure extended out ideas of solidarity.. over the nation, and partly over other nations as well, we have lessened the bonds of solidarity within our own nations, and even within our own families."(16) It was as though the widening of solidarity diminished its intensity. The point appears to have become plain to Radcliffe-Brown some-

time around his 1910-12 work in Western Australia, if we can judge by jottings in a notebook from that period which is now held in the Sydney University Archive.

In his opinion sociology had been over-emphasizing solidarity to the neglect of opposition, which was its "necessary concomitant". They had to be taken together, for "intensity of opposition has a relation to intensity of solidarity---opposition heightens solidarity." While opposition existed between societies, as when war broke out, it also occurred within them and had to be regarded as part of their "anatomy". And, though opposition was apparently a human universal, its organization within a society could be "most readily seen in primitive societies with a dual division". This line of thinking is not noticeable in The Andaman Islanders, so it is possible that by the time he began developing it the main features of the book were already settled in his mind. It is also possible, however, that the Andamanese lent themselves rather well to analysis in terms of simple solidarity on the one hand and enmity and strife on the other, without the need for a third "principal type of relationship". Moreover the form of the jottings suggests that Radcliffe-Brown had stumbled across thoughts which had yet to be properly clarified. When they were he was to present opposition as "a mode of social integration", i.e such phenomena of violent conflict as war were no longer included.

Opposition, in this sense, referred to such arrangements as joking relations, ritual dualism between moieties, the sexes, the generations, etc., in which agreement and disagreement, solidarity and difference have been combined. The persons or groups concerned are in the position of being friendly opponents, and they may be symbolically represented as opposites of each other. Opposition is thus a third type of relationship. It is neither simple solidarity nor enmity and strife, but like the former it occurs within a society. Radcliffe-Brown related this mode of social integration to the union of opposites of Heraclitus, and also to the Chinese philosophy of Yin and Yang.(17)

We could see opposition as answering the dilemma admitted by Kropotkin, that solidarity loses intensity as it widens in scope. At this point it may be useful to consider a distinction made by Kropotkin between "two currents of human life". On the one hand there was the peaceful and largely unsung work of the masses, practising mutual aid and engaging in cooperative production. On the other hand there was "the self-assertion of the individual, not only in its efforts to attain personal or caste superiority, economic, political and spiritual, but also in its much more important although less evident function of breaking through the bonds, always prone to become crystallized, which the tribe, the village

community, the city and the State impose upon the individual."(18) In effect, then, Kropotkin was contrasting relations of simple solidarity with relations of another kind, which were established within a society by "self-assertion" (of groups as well as individuals). It is not the same contrast as the one ultimately developed by Radcliffe-Brown.

The year in which young Brown met Kropotkin was also the year in which he met Havelock Ellis, by whom he was introduced to the writings of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim. Now Durkheim, like Kropotkin, was greatly interested in social solidarity, in the bonds which unite men with one another, and he could certainly be suggested as an alternative source of inspiration for Radcliffe-Brown. Indeed, his concepts, methods and theories are more in keeping with modern social anthropology than those of Kropotkin, who was not concerned with building a school of academic inquiry. Yet in certain respects Radcliffe-Brown seems closer to Kropotkin than to Durkheim.

For Durkheim social solidarity in traditional or pre-industrial societies was what he called "mechanical" in contrast to the "organic solidarity" of economically more developed societies. In societies of the former kind there was rigid social control and uniformity in activities, beliefs and sentiments; in the latter there was ever greater specialization, resulting in more and more interdependence. He thought that behaviour was regulated by penal or repressive law under conditions of mechanical solidarity. Furthermore, in those conditions, the collective consciousness was essentially religious: "religion pervades everything; all that is social is religious; the two words are synonymous." Kropotkin would have rejected both of these opinions. Radcliffe-Brown rejected the first, if we can judge by his account of the Andamanese, and he would have regarded the second as over-stated, if not downright mistaken.(19)

Richard Perry went too far, I think, when he asserted that "Kropotkin's ideas were among the most salient influences on social anthropology during its formative years and defined an approach to enquiry that persists to the present---through their influence on Radcliffe-Brown (they) helped set the tone of British social anthropology during the first half of this century."(20) But he was right to draw attention to the link. There are, as I hope to have shown, some significant affinities and connexions between the two men. Kropotkin, like Heraclitus, should be accorded more importance in Radcliffe-Brown's life than has hitherto been the case.

Naturally there were other influences, too, but it is instructive to notice some of the overlaps which emerge

when they are looked into. For example, M. N. Srinivas, who is one of our sources on Kropotkin and Radcliffe-Brown (under whom he studied and some of whose essays he edited), mentioned in a recent letter that "R-B once told me that he had decided to accept Bertrand Russell as his 'philosophical guide'. It is interesting that Russell was also attracted to anarchism".

K.M.

NOTES

1 Memoires of a Revolutionist, p.403.
2 Excerpts from the letters are given in Lawrence C. Kelly's valuable unpublished paper, "Structure, function and anarchy in Radcliffe-Brown", 1983. I am grateful to him for providing me with a copy.
3 Mutual Aid (Penguin Books edition of 1939), p.63.
4 Ibid, p. 100. The quotation from Haxley is at p.23. In Ethics Kropotkin expressed the rule as "everyone for all.
5 Mutual Aid, pp. 14-15, 59; Ethics, pp.75-8.
6 Memoirs of a Revolutionist, p.216.
7 Ibid, pp. 214-15.
8 Ibid, p. 168.
9 Mutual Aid, pp. 80-82.
10 Ibid, p. 18.
11 Ibid, p.100.
12 The Andaman islanders (Cambridge Uni Press, 1922) p.vii.
13 Radcliffe-Brown's description of social life is in Chapter I of The Andaman Islanders. An earlier book on these people by E.H.Man, published in 1883, contains some comparable observations. I have not found evidence that Kropotkin ever read it.
14 Structure & Function in Primitive Society (Cohen & West, 1952), p.4.
15 Method in Social Anthropology, pp126-7; A Natural Science of Society (Glencoe Free Press, 1957), p.128.
16 Mutual Aid, p. 100.
17 For discussion of the social thought of Heraclitus in relation both to Radcliffe-Brown and to John Anderson, see The Australian Journal of Anthropology, 1922, special issue no. 3, papers by K. Maddock and I.F.Helu.
18 Mutual Aid, pp. 103, 231.

19 For Durkheim's life and thought generally, see Steven Lukes, Emile Durkheim (Penguin Books edition, 1975). Kelly suggests that the brothers Reclus, a geographer and an anthropologist both close friends of Kropotkin, may have helped provide young Brown with an interest in social solidarity and related concepts. Radcliffe-Brown's letter to Kroeber implies that he knew Ely (Elie) Reclus. If so, the acquaintanceship could have been made through Kropotkin or Havelock Ellis.

20 "Radcliffe-Brown and Kropotkin: the heritage of anarchism in British social anthropology", Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, 1978, at p. 61. Perry points to Radcliffe-Brown's relative lack of interests in struggle and disruptive conflict, his emphasis on patterned interaction amongs individuals who are bound together by institutionalized relationships of obligation, love or respect and his concentration on kinship rather than governmental structures as the basis of stability and continuity in society.

TRAVELIN

A cab driver sees alot of things in a city like Chicago. Some of it is beautiful but too much of it really hurts if you really look at it... I see concrete and metal canyons that shut out the huge strong trees that hold so much life. Never do I hear the beauty of a robin's song. I look around and see tight repressed faces holding their actors masks, as they strive to stay on top of the turning wheel in their hierarchical jobs. I yearn for a softness and easy gentle rhythm, but it is hard to find. All around seems to be noise, violence, sadness, anger, and competition... I am a part of it and it hurts!!

It is so easy to be overwhelmed by all this. And many of us are. We turn to drugs, pornography or various isms to somehow escape. But there is no escape other than to face the danger head on. To awaken. To climb out of this polluted morass they call "America". This we can do! (Note I specifically use the word CAN because language structures consciousness and CAN is a word of empowerment, where as should or must has a legacy of authority.) We can each take measure of our lives. For me the trail to a better way of being lies in building collective institutions...Why must our families be nuclear in nature? Why does our educational system have to be modeled after a damn factory? Could we not have work places where people cooperate and make decisions as a group through dialogue and listening to each others needs? Myself I ain't a goddamn chicken and I refuse to be a part of this pecking order they call "America the free"!

I want to live in harmony with Nature-Spirit and build a society where the values of communalism, mutual aid, sharing, direct action, decision making by consensus and no hierarchies prevail. In short this vision is one of Anarchist-Communism. With healthy doses of African and Native culture thrown in.

How? How? How do we who are European descended begin recreating our culture? The answer lies in us. Who do we interact with? There are countless opportunities to plant seeds with each person that we meet... For example because I drive a cab I come in contact with probably 400 people a week. On the dashboard of my cab I have in indivdual 4 by 11 cards various things written. The card that prepares the ground for the planting of seeds says this, this is an "Ateneo" -a place for sharing of ideas. You are encouraged. Followed by the A. People right away ask, "Whats Ateneo?" So I explain to them that Ateneo is a Spanish word and that they were the places in Spain, previous to the Franco dictatorship, where Anarchists young and old met for cultural events, reading and discussing, literacy etc. Obviously this leads to a discussion of Anarchism and its merits. And because I am personable and friendly and do not lay any head trips on folks then perphaps people say to themselves "this person is not necessarily a bomb thrower and I can talk with him". When I talks with people I try to encourage dialogue with questions going back and forth. This is not allways easy. For in our society we have been taught to dominate and win discussions rather than to listen and facilate learning and communication. I am still learning how to do this. Sometimes people truly hear me and when they do I give them a reading list and some Anarchist literature. Most times they disagree with Anarchism. Thats cool. Seeds have been planted and I suspect that in the years ahead that hard times can germinate those seeds in unseen ways!

Another card that gets lots of attention is,"Is violence against wimmin a learned behaviour"? Now the answer to this among most of us is obviously yes. But it enccurages people to talk. Its interesting but a good many of the people that have picked up in this have been men. One guy a corporate business man in his 40's has been devasted recently to find out that a boyhood friend, a millionaire four times over, someone he admired, has been filming his 16 year old daughter in "sex" scenes for distribution... So we talked about the role of the media in encouraging pornography-exploitation rather than the beauty of eroticism between adults. I don't know how other people feel but it seems to me that the so called "sexual revolution" has just led to more exploitation of wimmin and young people. And given the capitalist-hierarchical structure of our society that ain't no surprise "baby"... Recently I picked up in my cab, a guy, hoarse voice, commodities trader. The image that comes to mind immedially is the

fast lane, drugs and sex for this guy. I was wrong. This man was a recovering alcoholic who through being around alot of loving folks was learning to care about himself and others especially wimmin. For in his family as he grew up he watched his Dad, an alcoholic, hurt his mom real bad. It was these images of beatings, the screams of his Mom, the treating of her like a thing, a possession, that he was having trouble shaking. This man knew allready too well the learned behaviour of men in our society to violate Wimmin!!

Its raining here in Chicago. Normally I enjoy a gentle rain. But I feel no comfort. As the wipers of my cab go back and forth they make me meditative. Not today. The rain and wipers are a driving relentless beat that focuses my attention on the faces I have seen of those who died recently in Waco, Texas. Those precious children with so many hopes. I want to vomit with rage! To strike back!... Upon my dash-board I have placed a card "People die in Waco, Texas U.S government has excuses"? I want people to think. To feel. To plant a seed of revolt in peoples hearts. As I talk with folks I am surprised. Some are critical of the F.B.I. and the role of the government. As one corporate guy said after we went back and forth over the issue, "keep the signs up". That made me feel good... I also had in my cab a guy with his wife from Fox Lake, Ill. She was a bartender and he a construction worker. Workin folks going to party at "Butch Mcquires" "Rush street joint"... But they felt. They saw and knew that the government had screwed up. But of course there are the others. Those who want to stick their heads in the sand. Who want to believe the ready excuses of this U.S. government and the culture it represents. A society that has unleashed its viciousness for 200 ± years on the Native peoples, the Africans, the people of the Phil-lipines, the Vietnamese, the Iraquis and on and on... And now as this U.S. society becomes more fragmented, and its people more depressed and disturbed strange things begin to happen. The so called "White Americans", the "mainstream" searches frantically for meaning in their lives, and becomes involved in cults, drugs, whatever. In their endless, desper-ate path toward what they hope will be some measure of happi-ness they inevitably come in conflict with the "allmighty state"... A state, a culture of CONTROLLERS that is becoming increasingly alarmed that its "white americans" just won't be satisfied... The Controllers must stop the rising dissent for not to do so would in time reveal a truth, a truth that in time will become self evident to all that this "Precious American System" is foul and inoperable!!!

So much for my anger. It helps a little bit to express it but not much. The folks in Waco, Texas are still dead. And as I talk with people I try to point out; it is because

of the nature of these all powerful hierarchical institutions, be it the family, the school, the economic institutions, or the state that can lead to awful repression. And that very nature is that once the wheels of power start turning they will grind down whatever gets in their way... There is a mind set, a culture, a rhythm of control that leads so called "Good People" who are functionaries within the state to do terrible things. Throughout "history" we can see this... So people have said to me "the F.B.I. could have waited in Waco, Texas. They should have taken all the time in the world to get those children out safely". No way baby.

Every state or institution of "power over" has its breaking point, where if it does not keep moving and controlling it will contradict its very nature and begin to fragment... I think we will see more Wacos in the years ahead. The velvet glove that for so long only came off when dealing with "people of color" is now coming off more readily... Perhaps we who are European descended can begin to awaken to the desperate need for the SOCIAL RECREATION OF OUR CULTURE THAT CAN PLACE!!!

This process of talking with people and communicating the need for real social change is often frustrating, sometimes hopeful, but often sad, because I can feel the beauty of people and their opportunities for growth if they only awaken and see. The time is very short in our society. The devastation that we have done and continue to do Nature-Spirit is a ticking bomb that CAN DO US IN AS A SPECIES...

I suspect there will come a time when those who think like us will either be in jail or underground. Some of us are allready... I worry that when the struggle takes on a guerilla phase about whether you and I can keep our humanity and continue to grow and love. Or will we be consumed by bitterness and rage... But right now my role is to foster communication. To spread the beautiful seed of ANARCHIST COMMUNISM. Something that each of us can do!!!

The workers have at their disposal tremendous power: once they have realized that and decide to use it nothing can resist them. It is sufficient to stop all work, take over all products, these products of their labour that belong to them since they produce them.

Max Stirner

BLOWING THE "COLLEGE" TEACHING"

BIZ

> I am sick of the art-adoration that prevails among cultured people, more in our time than in any other: that art silliness which condones almost any moral or intellectual failing on the artist's part as long as he is or seems a successful artist. It is still justifiable to demand that he be a successful being before anything else, even if at the cost of his art.--Clement Greenberg, "The question of the Pound Award" (1949).

As a fulltime independent, I don't often attend academic conferences; but since I'd written a book on the subject to be featured (John Cage), I was invited to give one of the two major addresses. Perhaps because I'd not had such an experience before, the conference was a revelation. Quite simply, the presenters could be divided into two groups--professors and nonprofessors--and in all eyes the fundamental difference between us was that, to put it mildly, the professors didn't know as much about the featured subject or think about Cage's unusual work as profoundly. Their presentations tended to be simplistic equations of their pet analytical ideas with at best cursory examination of the subject's work, to a predictably obvious degree that could not survive publication but might withstand live recitation once. Out of naivete perhaps, I was shocked.

Why were these professors invited? Many were affiliated with the host institution, some were "big names" who had passing personal contact with the subject, a few were long-term colleagues of the organizer, which is to say that, within the political requirements of the situation, all three sets "could not be excluded." Why did they participate? Damned if I know if there were reasons other than vanity, a few bucks, and perhaps the opportunity to generate further biz. None seemed embarrassed by what I took to be the implicit theme of their performances--that since they were Professors they didn't really need to know anything.

It seems that even with reduced teaching loads university professors are the guys who don't know much and haven't learned anything new in years. My suspicion is that to an increasing degree they devote most of their nonteaching time to posing as professors, which is to say serving on university committees, throwing around the weight gained from their positions, and behaving pompously before impressionable audiences, all on the assumption that their academic titles would successfully cover ineptitude and other sins. (Thus does

academia clearly resemble another institution similarly organized into hierarchies whose titled rankings compensate for the gut incompetence of those on the upper levels--the miilitary!)

A second disturbing incident followed the publication, in an avowedly conservative magazine, of an article of mine on the awarding of literary grants. My critic happened to be a chaired professor at the same Ivy League university that awarded me a degree (with "honors"!) three decades ago. In the course of putatively rebutting me, this "Distinguished" professor attributed to me, in quotation marks, something I did not say and do not believe. In short, he fabricated evidence opportunistically. When I was an undergraduate, students caught fabricating testimony would be flunked automatically. Yet, even when I exposed his fabrication in a letter to the editor, there were no explanations and no apologies. My first thought was that the rumor must be true--standards at such Ivy League universities are't what they used to be--and then that this Ubermensch must be answering to a law lower that that once imposed on students.

A third incident happened to a very close friend of mine who recently heard about his wife of long ago, now a professor, complaining to a mutual friend that her former husband forced her to type his M.A. thesis. In fact, the thesis was written well after they had separated and was typed for hire by someone else. What accounts for this superficially innocuous fib was that the ex-wife, in the course of switching from English Literature to "Feminist Studies," needed to invent a personal history of male abuse to "Qualify" herself for the new position (and in part compensate for her own tardiness in boarding an opportune academic train). "You're better 'qualifed'," a friend explained, "if you can tell a story that is untrue or, even better, known to be untrue. That shows your commitment to the ideology, in this case of uncovering male exploitation." In a climate like this, all notions of academics as disinterested seekers of truth have been forgotten.

One of the charms of Charles J. Sykes' illuminating Prof-Scam (1989) is explaining these last two incidents to me. Quite simply, he shows how the purported principle of "academic freedom" has become a lever for professorial fibbing and other intellectual abuses unavailable to independents (let alone normal human beings), and it would seem that professors on the political left are no less immune than those who place themselves on the right. Since professors can get away with fibbing to sudents, who are beholden to them for a grade, some let that bad habit deceive themselves into lying before the general public. (Or thinking that former students are still students? But anyone no longer needing a grade to gradu-

ate is free to say this emperor has no clothes.) Such professors behave as though they are confident that their colleagues, regardless of political persuasion. would defend such lying, especially to nonprofessors, on the unionist principle that professors are allowed privileges, aka "academic freedoms" (based upon professor-adoration), not allowed to common people. Not only does Sykes expose the severity of a morass that many take to be unexceptional, but his specific analyses exemplify the purpose of all great social criticism (or arts criticism, for that matter)--making the invisible visible.

7

II

Sykes is correct in attributing many problems to the principle of tenure, by which an aspiring professor is granted lifetime job security after a trial period. Because of the need a quarter centrury ago for college teachers to service the postwar baby boom, many intellectually (and pedagogically) insufficient people were granted tenure rather easily at the time. Guys and gals tenured then now earn over fifty grand a year for no more than 7½ hours per week in the classroom. Once that demand for college teachers declined in the 1970s, the awarding of tenure became scarce so that those who got their doctorates too late, their ambitions initially fueled by the myth of academia as a land of economic opportunity, became a sweated class of part-time instructors, largely assigned to teach beginning students, moving from job strictly according to the laws of supply and demand, structurally unable to compete with the tenured professors who had already graduated, so to speak, from the free market. As a result, college teachers nowadays comprise two classes, in the Marxian dialectical sense--those who have tenure and cannot move (thus creating communities of privilege combined with intellectual stagnation) and those who, lacking tenure, can only move.

It seems to me that the major social legacy of the 1960s has been the revolt of the underling, whether female, black, gay or whatever, refusing to be subservient anymore. To this powerful thought add the general parameters of this patently dialectical, explosive academic situation, and you wonder why the sweated class hasn't yet wised up and concetrated their critical energies on attacking that obstacle that keeps them chattel--tenure!

The fact that this attack hasn't happened, even though the untenured by now outnubmer the tenured, makes me wonder about the "radicalism" that conservatives say they find preva-

lent in American universities today. Is this "radicalism" just a polemical invention? Or are graduate students cynically being taught that it is acceptable to be "radical" about social problems far away, in Nicaragua and South Africa, while absolutely inacceptable, to the point of professional death, to protest social inequities immediate to them? Can it be that by equating all attacks on tenure with McCarthyism and Yahooism the privileged professors have pulled one of the great intellectual deceits of our time? There are no standards and moxie left--only tenure and the benefits/abuses accruing to those who have it.

If the elimination of tenure brings a decrease in unjustified, undesirable privilege and an elimination of institutionalized deadwood, along with creating opportunities for the underclass, it should be classified as a left position (that resolves the wrenching dialectic mentioned before). It is also a libertarian position in bringing the values of a competitive free market--values that characterize cultural life in general--to a backwater that has declared itself institutionally exempt from such reality.

The people best positioned to attack tenure are not parents and students, as Sykes suggests in his conclusion, but the endlessly exploited underlings. Since teaching assistants and the like comprise the shocktroops of undergraduate instruction, an effective national strike by these sometime chumps would force the tenured professors to take over their entry-level classes. If such basic university functions were not assumed, the students would leave and the universities would necessarily close down, eventually declaring bankruptcy and thereby voiding all tenure contracts. Once reorganized, such universities could create wholly new, inevitably better faculties from a freer marketplace. It seems obvious that the elimination of university tenure would bring a more fluid professional world, genuine academic freedom, along with a greater public accountability and thus more human and intellectual responsibility. (When I ask itinerant academics about this, they usually tell me that the sweated class is "scared" that, if they struck, they would be easily replaced, which is to say that unemployed academics are thought to be scabs wholly devoid of class consciousness and that tenured profs, no matter their macro- politics, are thought to be scab-lovers.)

I should add that if university professors are to be truly professional, rather than, as now, grubby unionists, they would necessarily introduce mechanism for policing abuses by colleagues. My own opinion is that professors caught fabricating evidence, plagiarizing, reviewing books they patently hadn't read or completely ignoring their students, say, should be suspended without pay for year, for much the same reason

that professional athletes caught using illegal drugs are nowadays suspended--they set a bad example for children while exploiting their positions of influence and jeopardizing the reputations of their colleagues. Need I say anything so obvious: Celebrity athletes have less immediate negative influence upon America's future leaders than dispensers of life-determining grades

Richard Kostelanetz

THE FETISHISM OF ECONOMISM

In late capitalist society, we are witnessing the elevation of economism to almost religious status. Economism being the ideology, the belief, that economics is the guiding force behind all social phenomena. This development is a tragedy of the greatest dimensions.

In the Western society, in the late 20th century, we are daily, almost hourly, bombarded by the media with economic data, and economic forecasting, and economic anlysis, etc, etc. It is almost as if, to the reader or viewer there is nothing but economics- that economics is the summa of reality, that economics is all that matters.

To detail the economic minutiae would bore you, and would be to continue to play the game. It is not the intention of this essay. The subject of this essay is the phenomenon itself: the fetish of economism.

Any well-developed human being, (any educated, civilised, broadened human being) would recoil in horror and dismay at this development. Surely there are other things in life apart from economics? What about art, sport, sex, love, family life, friends, nature, beauty, travel, etc, etc. Any rounded human being, who has lived - who has travelled, who has read, etc,etc., -must be disquieted with the development of the fetish of economism. It is as though the media in particular is "blocking out" 99% of reality and concentrating on only 1% (or less, or more). Then to hear the politician compounding the error by parroting the economic trivia leaves the rest of us wondering "what the hell is going on?"

The political left do not help the matter. Marxists, for instance, do not help the matter by positing an opposite economism (i.e. a Marxist anti-capitalist economism). Surely, a truly radical perspective draws attention to the phenomenon itself and rejects it, and puts forward alternative values. Anarchism, feminism, environmentalism, libertarianism all,

surely, are much more progressive in this important respect. Sure, Marxism (in my view) provides the correct critique of capitalism. But a truly progressive politics must embrace, along with this critique, other life-enhancing values.

The fetish of economism is quite absurd - especially when one considers that for all the economic data, prophecies, analyses we are confronted with, the economic situation of late capitalism itself is quite disastrous. That is, we live in a period of economic decline - mass unemployment, increasingly frequent and severe recessions, bankruptcies, etc. That is, for all the economic paraphernalia abounding, we can't even get that right. We can't even get the economy right!.

This focus on economics is, I believe, a form of obsessive behaviour, and should be viewed like other forms of obsessive behaviour, whether it be foot-fetishism, avoiding cracks in side-walks, etc. It should be regarded, I think, as a psychological dysfunction: a dysfunction of, in particular, media people (mainly journalists) and politicians. These people really need to be psycho-analysed.

Most of us have seen horror films where some "deranged" person pats a corpse (e.g. "Psycho", etc.) or makes love to a dead lover, etc. This seems to be, in outline, what the media people and politicians are doing: patting a corpse. The corpse is capitalism (or Stalinism, depends where you live) and the media people and politicians are patting it, analysing it, looking at it from all perspectives, etc. Instead of "Everything I Know About Jane" it is "Everything I know about the economy" or "Everything I know about this corporation". Or, from the left, "Everything I know about late capitalism".

These people, I think, need to be brought somehow back to reality, if that's possible - the reality being that capitalism and Stalinism are virtually dead (I don't think anything can save them) and that there are other things in life apart from economics.

I think Elizabeth Kubler Ross would come in handy here, in providing these people with an appropriate form of grief-therapy. The only way these people are going to be helped is by showing them: "Look, your loved one has died." "You can't do anything about it." "Accept it." "Have a tissue", and "Life does go on."

Graeme M.

SOME REFELCTIONS ON VIOLENCE

Instead of an answer to NCO1(Rebel Worker,April, 1994 p. 18,20) No p) I prefer to deal with some issues in the form of an article. The answers he has given are unsatisfactory -bits and pieces of sophistry. An aspect of it is the evangelizing of the virtues of the "lower classes" and their suffering to sustain consciously or unconsciously a class of "revolutionary illuminati" who are the way and the consciousness of the workers themselves. While this seasoned dish satisfies the appetites of professional revolutionaries and self-appointed mandarins of the "lower classes" it has been a bitter pill for the workers. Recycling remnants of Leninist ideology and reviving myths has no significance whatsoever to the workers and, if it has, it is negative. History is the story of it. One is not so naive as not to see the function of this ideology in suppressing the social revolution; turning the "lower classes" into the grave diggers of their own interests and, what is more important, turning socialism into a lubricant of capitalist bourgeois realism.

After the collapse of "socialist realism" the professional revolutionaries, now without revolution and profession, are eager to re-enact the drama of violence as a prospect to raise revolutionary consciousness. But reified violence is not at all revolutionary. Besides, its lack of socialist imageries empties it of any revolutionary content. The "socialist" imageries the workers were bombarded with served the reaction not the revolution. One should not be dismayed that the workers' imageries of today are firmly rooted in the bourgeois dialectic of existence. Otherwise how can be explained the workers' acceptance, without much resistance, of privatization, dismantling without tears of all social conquests and the workers' collaboration with the bourgeoisie in pulling down the social edifice built by the sweat and blood of previous generations? The workers' submissivenes to bourgeois imageries is a sad reality and no act of violence can reverse this psychological pauperism. On the contrary, such an act will strengthen the muscles of the State and its coercive apparatus and smooth the transitional period to democratic fascism.

The bourgeois left "tears society down"(RW) only in appearance in order to rip off more social benefits. "Tearing society down" is an ideological conceptualization to give a flavour to their pretences. Nonetheless, by attacking the established institutions intellectually they enlist the workers' support in the struggle for power. But then all leaders, elites, bureaucrats and professed "revolutionaries" indulge in ideologies as occupational virtues to hide their opportunism and their identification with the middle classes. It is a pity that the workers in particular, and people in general, cannot see through and stop sacrificing themselves for illusions. They should by now realize that their salvation is not in leaders and liberationist thiologies but in their own hands. The rest is the poetry of the comformists who like to build conformist niches by non conformist language at the expense of the oppressed.

Philosophers as social theorists are to be found at all levels of the social spectrum. But to be contemptuous of them(RW) and not of implicit or explicit social theorists is to commit a categorical mistake. Are those who conceptualise the "class struggle", "class analysis", "working classes", "lower classes", "final analysis" etc. workers of philosophers? Don't they use mental constructs to define, describe and explain tangible reality or theoretical assumptions? Nonetheless, ascribing a virtue to a concept is an act of legerdemain and in no way proof of the soundness of an argument. On the contrary it clouds the palpable reality that the workers themselves are victims as well as creators of hate, prejudice, racialism, nationalism etc. Thus they are open to manipulation. It does not need much to see how class antagonism serves class collaboration, solidarity becomes a support for the enterprise and revolution is simply a coopted dissent into the established values. Marx is correct that "Philosophers only interpret the world". Unfortunately politicians of all colours sell it and harvest the benefits.

Proponents of violence insist on violence as a revolutionary method, for revolutionary changes. Violence cannot be a revolutionary method. It is more often than not imposed on revolutionaries. Reactive violence is a necessary evil but it has the revolutionary potentiality to end violence as social praxis. Otherwise, it is always a tool of the reaction. But if by "revolutionary changes" is meant substituting one rule, government, hierarchy, terror and god for another then they are correct. On the other side if by "revolutionarty changes" is meant a genuine radical change where people are masters of their existence and control their own lives; where intellectual, emotional and physical divisions are individual propensities and features but not class and social categories; when the Social Revolution has become a reality: there is no such historical event. In fact, it has to be acknowledged

that in the major upheavals of our century: the Spanish and Russian Revolutions such events materialized but in the first case its praxis was eliminated by the combined violence of fascism, Stalinism and Liberal Democracy; in the second case by the "revolutionary" Leninist violence. It is useless to insist that violence is not personal but rather class gratification(RW). A class qua class has no feeling but individuals do have. It is they who can feel the sensual impact of violence. And if "destruction is a creative urge" as Bakunin puts it, one has to draw the finest paradoxical distinction that creativity is not destruction but the infusing of life, creating emotional, sensual and intellectual richness at a personal as well as a social level.

Non violence, perhaps, has achieved a little bit, but what has violence and, more precisely, "revolutionary violence", a powerful tool in the hands of power oriented groups and individuals, achieved? The Red Terror! In the Spanish Revolution it was the spearhead of Stalinism; in the former Soviet Union it crushed the sovietism and communism and paved the way to the capitalist New Order. Violence is the Fifth Column of the reaction. To assume that history has tought us a lesson and, therefore, "we would be better able to regulate violence now"(RW) shifts the terms of reference but does not deal with violence qua violence. It raises more questions than answers.Who are we? Who assigns to us the task of regulating it? To regulate violence is to control it. Who are the controllers? The revolutionary avantgards? The revolutionary secret services? We are back to square one: Regulated violence is a counter-revolutionary weapon! We are in the deep waters of socialist realism.

True, in this changing society of today "violence shows possibilities"(RW). Definite possibilities: ethnic hate, ethnic cleansing, religious bigotry, workers stabbing workers for job preferences, workers slaughtering workers for the glory of a country, nationality, religion and ethnicity. These are the revolutionary possibilities of the dark ages that sufocate the genuine revolutionary spark of anarchism.

Violence, within the precinct of hierarchical-authoritarian order, is functional. It plays down social antagonism, keeps oppression going, represses the individual, imposes moral sanctions, establishes norms of behaviour, work, duty and obedience and aborts any attempt at independence. Its categorical imperatives are order, law, freedom in prisons, individuality in slavery and personality in squares. Within this frame of reference to build a counter-violence is to exchange one master for another, to change the actors of the human drama, to maintain the spectacle that makes violence an effective catharsis. It is the destruction of hierarchical relationships that counts, not building castles of ideologies;

temples of the past glories that chain the human spirit in the barrack of existence. Such a state of affairs may appeal to the abstract socialist individual but has no relevance to anarchism.

Personally I belong nowhere. I am in a permanent flux. In the ocean of my dreams and fantasies the only bearings I have are anarchism and freedom. Therefore, any oppression, exploitation, archies and dead political schemes are my enemies. On the other hand, the fact that I consider class society, inequalities, injustice and oppression undesirable and inhuman, does not imply that I am prepared to extol the virtue of the workers if they are dupes of nationalism, if they are religious or secular bigots, fascist and soldiers of a reactionary cause. Am I to admire their cruelty when they sacrifice their brothers in barbaric rituals, rape women and glorify violence? Cerainly not! Or is this the raving of a person that has a false consciousness since his existence is uneventful and he is "fortunate enough to not be in situation where cop violence has real impact upon" his "life"(RW)? Sentimentality aside, I am incensed when people, referring to themselves as anarchists or anarcho-syndicalists, try to justify violence as a personal or political tool because they have suffered from it. Self-referential point of martyrdom? When the saints are marching the blood of the lambs is not suffering rather it is glory that inflates their egos. I have been in situations when I have been bashed and tortured until unconsciousness. While the cops had an orgy I could not cry because my mouth was stuffed with my socks. Then I was also privileged to be bashed by my workers' brothers for the glory of their brand of communism. While they were dancing in wild frensy on my body they insulted me as being an agent of Anglo-American imperialism. How happy they were, the arselickers of Stalinism, because they were eliminating the barriers to the materialization of the workers' paradise. And to add to my experience I felt the blow of the "lower classes"' fascist thugs who tried to purify the race from red scum like myself. They enjoyed the purification of the race because they were bulding a nation of elevated spiritual beings. Has all this entitled me to justify and use violence, and against whom this violence is to be directed? Against the hirelings of the State and the faithful dogs of capitalism, all of them recruited from the "lower classes? Can the State as well as Capitalist rational instrumentality function if not corroborated by the oppressed themselves?

In conclusion, it may be said that it is regulated violence which is an essential part of fascism, and which has also poisoned the sources of leftist thinking and praxis and is carried by some anarchists too. It is not by killing people that social relationships are changed but by opposing the State and Capitalism; by dismantling state and capitalist institutions and refusing to coooperate and be incorporated

into them. Also one has to deconstruct hierarchical and authoritarian thinking within our own heads and offer and work for libertarian anarchist alternatives.

* This article was first published in the Rebel Worker, No 9.: P.B.Box, 92. Broadway, N.S.W. 2007.

A FABLE ABOUT PRIVATISATION

Just imagine:

That seventy years ago, BHP was nationalised. And along with it , a thousand large and medium factories and service companies. And with very little compensation to shareholders.

In the course of time "B.H.P." comes increasingly under the control of the Ministry for Industry, although management handles day to day problems. Thanks to the hard work of employees and management, and with the help of centrally controlled prices, over the decades the plant expands to four times its original capacity. Together, they produce not two, but eight million tonnes of steel for the use of industry, transport houses and consumer goods, and also for defence because some governments in the outside world are planning an invasion.

This steel industry becomes the jewel in the crown of the national economy, the locomotive of growth.

It is part of a long term policy to increase economic growth by ten percent a year, compounding rapidly so that it is thought, in the sixties that it will be a component in the goal of overtaking output in the USA and American living standards within fifteen years. Thus it will become a beacon of attraction, an example of socialism for the worlds' workers still exploited by capitalism.

But woe! Not only in steel, but through the economy after this spectacular early expansion (lasting fifty years) growth rates slip to 8,6,4 and finally two percent a year, no better than the USA and far worse than Japan, which is steadily overtaking all growth rates!

Whatever the cause the model of total planning, total price control, total strategic control by the top layer of the Party-State machine, has reached the end of its potential. The reasons are analysed and are too numerous to list.

In 1986, drastic steps are taken to open up to market forces over a large sector of the economy. Priorities are

established to re-equip those industries which have been neglected, on the basis of high technology. A sector is created for manufacturing cooperatives and small private businesses to supply a host of consumer goods in short supply.

But these yield slow results. The bureaucratic apparatus appears unable to work in any way except the old routine. Production falls off.

One of the final steps taken to stimulate mass participation in improving the economy is to take defacto ownership and control of the economy out of the hands of the Ministry top Party-State politician cadres.

BHP is formed into an independent "instrumentality". No more will it subsidise inefficient industries. Nor can it expect to get hefty subsidies itself, if problems arise.

Management and workers will run the factory, not remote politicians.

Step Two abolishes "State ownership" for the most part. The State retains 20% of the shares 51% are distributed, on equal shares, to each BHP worker for the almost nominal sum of §50 each worker.

Similarly, the remaining 29% are distributed in one of several ways, in equal shares, for the same §50 each to adult citizens. This happens across the economy. This is called "social ownership of the means of production etc". One could go on at length about the details.

I did say this was a fable. But replace "B.H.P" by the Russian economy of 1994. That, in a nutshell is what has happened steadily on a legal level since 1991. Obviously, the rusted-up old system has gone, but can you really call this the "restoration of capitalism"? Some would call it almost the opposite.

S. Cooper.

Some Thoughts on S.Cooper's Fable

The fable that Steve portrays as a some kind of a socialist scenario is rather a captalist scenario even if the workers hold majority shares equally distributed among themselves with the State owning 20% and the citizens the remaining 29%. Distribution of shares does not imply distribution of power. Decision making remains a State prerogative and that of bureaucrats. A hand out of shares is intended to subvert

workers, to stimulate their participation in productivity where profit increases and manpower decreases. "Social ownership of the means of production" is a dead letter if dependency syndrome remains. At the best, the factory is run on corporativist lines or is it?

Why not socialism? If totalitarian suffocation is replaced by li beral democratic anaesthetics, by mass media manipulation, the question of socialism does not arise. The workers have never been empowered, they have always delegated their power. Formerly the discourse had been dictated by the State and the party which had created a cage mentality; now it is controlled by the new liberal economic elites and every thing that is permissible takes place within the capitalist frame of reference. The workers are trained to follow the line rather than act as agents of their own betterment. They lack self-initiative. While they hate bureaucracy, lack of initiative and self-assertion, makes bureaucracy preferable to a vaccuum of power. On the other side utopian socialism is dead. Without it the struggle is reduced to pragmatic economics where capitalism advances its exploitative appetites. The norms are how to accommodate the east to the west world view and market economy. The Stalinist historical aberration -that forged idealism out of materialism, trimmed the wings of socialist ideas for the workers to acquire better conditions of sumbissiveness, emaciated the working class and installed impotence as a strength - is paying dividends: the rapidity of the bourgeoisification of the workers' consciousness is dazzling. The fact that in their fears, uncertainties and bewilderments they turn to the old parties, leftist of yesterday and reactionary of today, in search for tangible capitalist bliss is one of the aspect of this impotence.

There are other factors militating against socialism. Erroneous interpretation of history has favoured capitalist conformity and market economy. Ideological terrorism destroyed any self-reliance among the workers and undermined any self-management practices. Severe hierarchical structures encouraged great manipulation of the subalterned; lack of freedom prevented personal expansion and induced a sheep's mentality. Brutality turned all socialist hopes into ashes without a vision of Phoenix rebirth.

Another scenario: dismantling of the Soviet Union at any price has been the aim of U.S.A policy. Creating of as many as possible small states favours the capitalist strategy of domination, manipulation and exploitation. The state functions are reduced to two main acts: a) to keep the working class in submission and oppression and b) to be the executor of world capitalism, of the I.M.F. and the World Bank. This scenario encourages ethnic divisions, monolithic small states, religious dogmatism, nationalism and chauvinism, that is,

everything that fits capitalist strategy. Thus socialism recedes and, with it; its ethos, ethics and ideas To those of us who want to see a world free of oppression, to see a classless society, decentralization and people managing their own lives, we have to recognize our defeat. We do not need to project situations which are not there and to be victims of our wishful thinking. We have to make a critical assessment of our own socialist values, of socialism with state gravy that has turned to nationalism with fascist gravy, and let us hope that what is happening, here and now, in the former communist and non-communist world is only a temporary aberration. While the dead are burying the dead it is time that we escape from their dead schemes and try to give form and meaning to our personal and social anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist, anti-hierarchical dreams, fantasies and utopias, recreating the Anarchist Libertarian Utopia, here and now, and refusing to sacrifice life to beyond life illusions, to the end of history, to future generations and to the final analysis.

British Syndicalism: Pages of Labour History. 1994, Kate Sharpley Library, B.M. Hurricane, London, WC1 3XX

This pamphlet, a collection of various articles by Tom Brown, is not only of historical relevance but the themes of discussion remain of contemporary pertinence - although the hopes of the writer of building Revolutionary Syndicalism have not materialised. The writer himself analyses the pros and cons of the workers' struggle that may, or may not, lead to Revolutionary Syndicalism and the emancipation of the working class as a class.

Unfortunately, the workers adopt the road to atomization and disunity and allow Capitalism to make inroads into their struggle, consciousness and expectations. "Syndicalism has posed the idea of scientific organization, revolutionary industrial unionism".(p.5) But as T. Brown envisaged if "the workers, through lack of propaganda, do not understand or desire Syndicalism, it would serve them ill to form small, weak breakaway unions"(p.8). Further concerted efforts and intrigues by Communist and Labour Parties created dissension, antagonisms and craft unions' mentality rather than workers' solidarity.

Thus the workers, lacking Revolutionary Syndicalist perspectives, failed to brush aside "the cobwebs of prejudices"

(p.6) and also misread Labour History as being a story of permanent capitalist growth. In the real revolutionary struggle as T. Brown puts it "wage demands are not enough"(p.6). It is not sufficient "to ask for another loaf, but to take over the bakery, to take, hold, own and control the means of production"(p.6). It is on this perennial point that Capitalism is the most resilient. It prefers the unions to be appendages of political parties since they are then easy to manipulate, corrupt, bribe and turn into the "House of Dior".

True, revolutionary syndicalism has some impact on the trade-union movement that led to the amalgamation on industrial lines but, nevertheless, it failed to implant syndicalist theory and praxis and, what is more important, the history and memory of its praxis. Workers without memory of revolutionary struggle and organization are prone to capitalist manipulation. The work of capitalism is made easier because it is supported by intellectual lackeys, press, radio and now T.V. which reshape historical events to suit capitalist premisses and enforce a capitalist praxis of the present and a capitalist vision of the future. Those who do not control memory cannot control the future either. Thus to the State slavery and multinational intrusions the unions have taken the side of capitalism. "The trade union lamb has laid down with the capitalist lion" (Herald, July 17, 1915 as quoted in Syndicalism and shop stewards p.9)

In the debacle of the workers' movement that we witness today, the Labour and Leftist Parties, and the Communist more specifically, played a treacherous role. As T. Brown succinctly put it the Communist Party's:

> "thirst for power, its splitting of the workers' ranks, its slander of honest militants, the eagerness of its members to become foremen with the necessary double-dealing that goes with that ambition, the calling of 'political prestige strikes' and the calling of them off, the twists and turns of Holy Mother Russia's policy now 'down with the boss and strike everywhere' and next day 'collaborate, form joint production committees, the striker is a traitor'. All this had driven into apathy tens of thousands of good militants and confused and disillusioned millions."(p.10)

Talking about shop stewards' situation, Brown hit the nail on the head. Shop-stewards, and for that matter any revolutionary movement, to be successful have to be backed by ideas, to transcend conventional union demands, to have a social philosophy of reconstruction and to operate within a climate of revolutionary consciousness and awareness.

On reading Fighting for the nine-hour day a sad realization takes possession of me. We are retreating, like a defeated army before the aggressive and vengeful advance of multinational capitalism. The worse part is that the workers are participating in their own defeat, dismantling their own edifice, the edifice built by the sweat, the suffering, and the blood of their forerunners. International capitalism offers them freedom and happiness: freedom "to work men, women and little children to death"(p.20) and happiness in multiple chains. Also Fighting for the nine-hour day reminds us of internaionalism, of the necessity of inernational solidarity in revolutionary struggle and emancipation. Solidarity which is even more pertinent in the era of the internationalization of capitalism.

Trafalgar Square and the free speech fight(p.24) accentuates the importance of Free Speech as a vehicle to create ideas, to raise consciousness and awareness, to communicate, to think, to participate, to debate rather than being a passive receptacle of the media Barons' manipulation to use a modern jargon. But as Brown writes: "Free speech came the hard way. It could go the easy way"(p.27). This is true of any social conquest. History has proven him correct. Today Free Speech shrinks to T.V screens, to the voice of Big Brother.

British Syndicalism is refreshing reading; an important journey into the memory of British Syndicalism and it provides us with a lesson to learn if we are to fight for revolutionary changes,human emancipation and classless society.

NIETZSCHE WAS A MUSICIAN

This year, again, a professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne announced that Nietzscheanism leads to totalitarianism. But this gratuitous remark remains unsupported, it is not backed up by any commentaries. This article, on a particularly controversial subject, is more than necessary and aims to affirm the exact opposite of that frenzied thesis. The commentary made by our editor follows, in general lines, the book by Gilles Deleuse: Nietzsche and Philosophy.

On the Genealogy of Morals is a sonata, Thus Spoke Zarathustra a symphony. Music has been present since the birth of time: the birth of tragedy delivered by the spirit of music. As long as one ignores that Nietzsche was a musician, as

long as one is not a musician himself, one does not understa[illegible]etzsche - without music life will be a mistake (1). Abo[illegible]l Nietzsche is an artist and a great artist: he writes for a reader who listens (to read is to listen), that is to say, a future reader, a reader thinker (to listen is to think) who is not yet born at the time of his long walks around Sils-Maria: do not believe any thought that is not born in open space (2), a reader who is a poet of posthumously (3). N[illegible]h[illegible]k the day tomorrow

The "hénaurmes" misinterpretations on the subject of "superman" or on "the will to power", to take only these examples, arise from a reading lacking in harmony: full of confusions, hotch-potch associations, base interpretations, entia imaginationis (6). To identify Nietzsceanism with totalitarianism smacks of ideological hypocrisy.

Is the "superman" to be understood as "a muscular and blond eyes, aryan

on issues that are not there(7): such a base and vile thought cannot cross the mind of a genealogist, that is to say, one who practices the art of nobleness. Übermensch designates the superhuman, a philosophical concept approximating l'exemplar humanae naturae (8) that ethics aims at. The sup[illegible] aerial, halcyonian: laughter, a[illegible]es the shepherd laugh laugh being" (9) after spitting out the head of the serpent? Because he is going to spit out everything negative, all nihilistic resentment, guilty conscience, instinct for revenge - because he ceases to accuse life, because he no longer makes of life something moral and religious but rather something aesthetic, a mouldable force, a game of Aion (10) because he has become a bridge shepherd morphosed, by ight laughed laughter laughed

way of feeling. It is the man who has given value and meaning to things, human meaning and that is why he calls himself "the human", that is to say, one who evaluates (12). On the contrary, superhuman avoids all evaluation, all definition, precisely because they were invented and constructed by men. If we glance at the product of two millenia of Christian Europe what do we see? A species reduced almost to the point of the ridiculous, a sick soul, a gregarious animal, the domesticated man, the sublime abortion (13). We live in times of confusion (14). We dare to conclude:

is that not sufficient evidence that man is something that has to be overcome?

Is the will to power the desire to dominate ? "But who would call that a desire? The virtue that bestows is how Zarathustra described (15) that formerly inexpressible thing "(16). The will to power - literally: the will towards power (der Wille zur Marcht) - is a concept of Spinozian inspiration, stemming from the Spinozian conatus, from that effort to persevere in suo esse (17), but analysed from the point of view of the source: the will towards power is the genealogical, that is, the differential and genetic element; the will interprets, evaluates, it implies chance, it is dominating (the virtue that bestows) it is the creator of values (18).

Thus to understand Nietzsche a little bit one must be penetrated by the pathos of the interpretation, that is to say, be able to live a real rennaissance in the art of listening, one must be a "free spirit", that is to say, a spirit that has been liberated, that has regained possession of itself (19), one must chew as lengthily over aphorisms as one chews over good grain (20) semel atque iterum (21), as Spinoza would say, one must be of a bovine race, know how to ruminate (22), one must read lento, we are both of us, my book and I, friends of lento(23): the purest of sages (24) also advised us to advance lento gradu (25), but one must, above all and as a matter of urgency, become an artist.

"I read the thinkers and sing, after them, their melodies" (26) That is what is meant by reading and that is why so many readers of Nietzsche bathe in misinterpretations. At risk of repeating myself, they lack an intoxicant: the music.

G.L.

Translated from Le Monde Libertaire Nº 962, 1994 p. 2

* An excellent account of Nietzschean philosophical thought is to be found in the serialised articles by Gisele Souchon in the

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Boite Postale 205,
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